

The American Observer

A free, virtuous, and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends.—James Monroe

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Spotlight Focused On GOP at Chicago

**Selection of Presidential Nominee
and Framing Party Platform
Are Among Big Tasks**

DEWEY HAS OVERWHELMING ODDS

**Bricker and Willkie Forces Are Still
Hoping to Block Nomination of
New York Governor**

Three big questions are in the minds of the American people as the Republican National Convention opens its sessions in Chicago today, June 26. First, who will be the Republican presidential nominee? Second, who will be his running mate—the vice-presidential candidate? And third, what will be the nature of the Republican platform? These are the questions which must be decided by the 1,057 delegates at the convention.

On the surface, it appears to be almost a foregone conclusion that Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York will be chosen to lead his party in the presidential race. He is far out in front of his Republican rivals. He has 391 delegates pledged to support him at the convention, or 138 short of the required majority. His nearest competitor, Governor John W. Bricker, has only 65 delegates instructed to back him. Certain other "favorite-son" candidates have a sprinkling of support from their home states.

The Important Question

The important question is, what action will be taken by the 478 delegates who are uninstructed and unclaimed by any of the candidates? If 108 of them should be persuaded to cast their votes for Dewey on the first ballot, he would have the necessary majority. If, on the other hand, he does not win on the first ballot, and if a large number of the uninstructed delegates should be won over to the Bricker camp, a close race might develop between the two men.

That is what the Bricker lieutenants, as well as the stop-Dewey Republicans in general, are hoping for. They will try frantically to prevent the New York governor from winning the nomination on the first ballot.

While Governor Dewey has a much larger following than any other single Republican candidate, there is nevertheless considerable opposition to him within his party. He is not well liked by the majority of Republicans who look to Wendell Willkie for leadership. Since Dewey has been the main obstacle in the way of Willkie's chances for the nomination, the Willkie supporters resent the New York governor.

Even among Republican leaders who are opposed to Willkie, there is decided reservation with respect to Dewey. Certain of these leaders feel that the New York governor is accustomed to having his own way and running things as he sees fit. They know that he has dominated the legislative situation in his state to about the same extent as President Roosevelt.

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As the Republican convention opens Governor Thomas E. Dewey of New York is well in the lead among candidates for the nomination.

The Three Big Tasks

By General Jan C. Smuts

(We are reprinting excerpts from a recent address given in Birmingham, England, by the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa.)

I put the problem of Europe, of her salvaging and rehabilitation, first in our program of world reconstruction after this war. She must not be carved up, atomized, and reduced to a helpless chaos of fragments. Rather should she receive a new stable structure as a United States or Commonwealth of Europe. And in the making of this new structure, this island with its unique position should play its proper leading part.

Second on our postwar peace program I would place the question of establishing a world organization for security against war. It will almost inevitably be an improved and reformed version of the old League of Nations. That brave and brilliant improvisation failed in part, largely because it was not clothed with sufficient authority and coercive power to maintain peace. Next time the responsibility should be placed on those who have power, and the Great Powers who won the war should be made responsible in the first instance for keeping peace—at least for the transition period until a more permanent scheme for effective supervision could be worked out.

But even more may be needed for a peaceful world order of the future. A new world organization for peace should also be supported and buttressed by appropriate regional groupings, or by other friendly associations among nations, whose traditions or comradeships in the world war would qualify them as supporters of world security. Such, for instance, would be the fruitful association which has grown up between the United States and the British Commonwealth of Nations during this war—in many ways the most valuable by-product of the war. Understandings and cooperation which have grown up between these two groups form perhaps the most promising and lasting development of this war. It may yet prove the turning point in history, and become the most valuable force behind a new world organization and world progress generally. But let there be nothing exclusive about it and let it not exclude close collaboration with Russia. Thus would arise a triple bulwark of Great Powers against aggression. The phenomenal rise of Russia need not frighten the world. She has her part to play in a new comity of nations. She has arisen from vast purifying upheaval and sufferings and has still her great contribution to make to human history.

But there is a third and no less important task before us. We must prepare for the new era—for the age of man, the common man, the man whom in Lincoln's homely, humorous phrase God loves because he has made so many of them. From the beginning of this century, our generation has been scourged by one war after the other. Our conscience is becoming seared. Our sense of pity and sympathy is deadened. Whole populations are decimated and one

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Internal Disputes In China Grow Serious

**Conflict Between Chungking and
Communists Weakens United
Stand Against Japan**

SOURCES OF FRICTION ANALYZED

**United States Seeks to Compose Differences as Crucial Military
Operations Are Prepared**

With the bombing of Japan proper on June 15, the Far Eastern theater of war shared the headlines with the Battle of Europe which has been gaining momentum. The giant B-29 bombers, based in China, promised to alter greatly the future character of the war and to shorten the time it will take to bring Japan to unconditional surrender. This first bombing of Japan proper since the Doolittle raid of more than two years ago was seen as the opening act in the drama which will unfold in the Far East in the weeks and months ahead.

For, despite the terrific strain which future operations in Europe will place upon our manpower, supplies, and shipping, there is little doubt that our military leaders are determined to increase the tempo of war against Japan. While admitting that Germany must be eliminated first, President Roosevelt, in his recent radio address, declared that we can force the Japanese to terms more rapidly than has been thought possible. It was only a matter of days after the President's statement that the B-29 raid upon industrial targets in Japan proper was announced to the world.

Many Gains

While this bombing of Japan is the most dramatic of the recent military moves against Japan, it is by no means the only one of great importance. The very day the raids were made, our forces landed on Saipan Island, one of the Marianas group, and established a beachhead only 1,500 miles from Tokyo. From the south, General MacArthur's forces were pushing relentlessly toward the Philippines and, after hard and bitter fighting, secured their positions on Biak Island, some 900 miles from the Philippines.

In the air and on the sea, our war against Japan has made remarkable progress since that August day in 1942 when we launched our first offensive at Guadalcanal. As President Roosevelt reminded the nation in his radio address:

In the Pacific, by relentless submarine and naval attacks, amphibious thrusts, and ever-mounting air attacks, we have deprived the Japs of the power to check the momentum of our ever-growing and ever-advancing military forces. We have reduced their shipping by more than three million tons. We have overcome their original advantage in the air. We have cut off from a return to the homeland tens of thousands of beleaguered Japanese troops who now face starvation or surrender. We have cut down their naval strength, so that for many months they have avoided all risk of encounter with our naval forces.

But if we have done wonders in

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Convention scene—as the Republicans met in Philadelphia in 1940

The Republican Convention

(Concluded from page 1)

velt has in the federal government. They feel that his long experience as a prosecutor might make him a dominating President and that he might not cooperate with them on a satisfactory basis. These Republicans are inclined to look more favorably upon Governor Bricker, whom they believe would be likely to work along better with party leaders. They consider Bricker more "regular" than Dewey.

Turner Catledge, writing in the *New York Times*, sizes up the situation as follows:

... Mr. Bricker appears to many of the old-line leaders, particularly in the Middle West, as a better choice of the two, regardless of which one they may favor at the Chicago convention.

A common saying in political circles nowadays is that if the dominant powers in the Republican party are really certain of their ability to win next November, they might readily turn to Mr. Bricker. However, as the situation stands, Mr. Dewey is a major asset and whether the Republican leaders prefer him or not, many find themselves with no other choice than to say, "Hurrah for Dewey."

Basis for Decision

Hence it may depend upon the degree of confidence among Republican party leaders as to whether Dewey or Bricker is selected for the nomination. If these leaders feel that the cleavage in the Democratic party in the South, plus the possibility of the war's ending in Europe by fall, will give them a better-than-50-50 chance of winning the election, they may try to nominate Bricker instead of Dewey. One strong point in Bricker's favor is that no Republican nominee from Ohio, in his first try for the presidency, has ever been defeated, whereas no Republican nominee from New York, in seeking the presidency for the first time, has ever succeeded.

After all this has been said, however, the fact remains that, as the convention opens, the odds are overwhelmingly in favor of Mr. Dewey's nomination. As prosecutor and District Attorney of New York City, Mr. Dewey's war on gangsters and racketeers captured the attention and admiration of the American public. His role as governor of New York has further enhanced his prestige.

If, though, there should be a dead-

lock between Governors Dewey and Bricker, the convention might turn to a compromise candidate. Such men as former Governor Harold Stassen of Minnesota (now in the Navy), and General MacArthur might then have a chance.

Among the most likely vice-presidential possibilities are Governor Earl Warren of California, who will be the keynote speaker; Congressman Everett Dirksen of Illinois, and possibly Governor Bricker, if he does not secure the presidential nomination. The strong points of each of these men may be summed up as follows:

Governor Bricker is the best known of the three. He has gained a national reputation from his extensive campaigning. In addition, his running as the vice-presidential nominee might mean the difference between defeat and victory in Ohio.

Governor Earl Warren's main strength lies in the fact that California, which has always been strong for President Roosevelt, is claimed to be wavering. Republicans believe that it may be won over to their camp.

Representative Dirksen is a good speaker, and he has been going up and down the country delivering addresses. He hails from Illinois, and is well known in the Middle West, where he might be expected to win extensive support for the Republican ticket.

Perhaps the Republican who, in the vice-presidential role, would best supplement Governor Dewey is Lieutenant Commander Harold Stassen, former governor of Minnesota. He is more popular among Willkie's followers than any other Republican candidate. Some of the Willkie supporters may vote the Democratic ticket if they are too dissatisfied with the Republican presidential nominee and platform. If Stassen were in the vice-presidential race, he probably could prevent such disaffection within his party. But he has eliminated himself from the vice-presidential field by saying that he definitely will not accept the post.

This brings us to the Republican party platform. It will command the interest and attention of Republicans and Democrats alike. It will be so

worded as to appeal to the largest number of Republicans and also to wean away dissatisfied Democrats.

International Policy

On the matter of postwar international collaboration, the Republican and Democratic platforms are expected to be somewhat similar. The leading candidates in both parties have been following very much the same line of thought concerning this question. They are all agreed that the United States must cooperate with other nations in some kind of an international organization for the purpose of achieving enduring peace and of promoting world economic stability. The Republicans say that we should not go so far in the direction of internationalism, however, as to jeopardize our national sovereignty. President Roosevelt has said the same thing only he substitutes the word national "integrity" for "sovereignty."

Thus, the American people may find the party candidates and platforms espousing practically the same ideas on international affairs. In such an event, the decisions of voters will probably be based on the extent to which they feel that they can trust one party or the other to carry out its promises and pledges.

In the domestic field, the historical

issue of federal vs. state control—states' rights—promises to come to the fore with renewed intensity. There is, of course, a sharp difference of opinion within both parties over the extent to which the federal government should regulate the social and economic life of the nation. Governors Dewey and Bricker have gone on record in favor of expanding state activities and of curtailing federal control, regulation, and authority.

Willkie's Position

Wendell Willkie, on the other hand, is urging the Republican party to take a different stand relative to this question. He says that there can be no turning back from strong central governmental control. He points out that this trend has necessarily been going on year after year as our social and economic life has become more complicated. He says that former President Hoover's Committee on Recent Social Trends admitted the need for growing centralization. The Committee pointed out that such a development had been going on under the last three Republican administrations. Individual states, according to Mr. Willkie, simply cannot deal successfully with great national problems.

Mr. Willkie maintains, however, that the Roosevelt administration is being run too much by the whims of men instead of by the orderly and just processes of law; that government officials have usurped power and authority which Congress has not granted them; that the administration of the government is inefficient because the federal officials in Washington have tried to administer their laws mainly from the nation's capital and have not turned sufficient responsibility over to the states. Even though federal laws are necessary to deal with the great national problems, Mr. Willkie contends, the states can and should play a vital role in helping to administer these laws.

Consequently, Mr. Willkie and his supporters want the Republican platform to stress the need for improving the federal government rather than weakening it. The nation will soon know whether this viewpoint will be adopted in the platform or whether the opinions of those Republicans who strongly believe in more power for the states and less for the federal government will prevail.

There will, of course, be a number of other issues dealt with in the Republican platform—"free enterprise," social security, reconversion of industry, labor-capital relations, agriculture, and the readjustment of servicemen and women to civilian life. We shall discuss these and other campaign issues at length as they are debated by the leaders of both parties.



The Chicago stadium where both Republican and Democratic national conventions will be held

Party System

POLITICAL parties have come and gone throughout our history, but there is a fairly consistent pattern of a two-party system. Even by the time George Washington left office, the two-party system was rather well entrenched.

The Federalist party of that day, following the political and economic philosophy of Alexander Hamilton, represented the business and financial interests, the conservatives. The party believed in a strong central government, and it favored the national bank, the tariff, and other policies which would promote a flourishing American industrial development.

On the other hand, the Republican party (not to be confused with the present party of the same name) adhered to the philosophy of Jefferson, and represented the interests of the farmers, small shopkeepers, and workers. It opposed a strong central government and objected to most of the policies advocated by the Federalists.



The election of 1800 dealt a blow to the Federalists from which they never recovered, and the party finally disappeared between 1815 and 1820, leaving the Republicans undisputed masters of the field.

The Republicans, meantime, underwent changes, and about 1830 two great parties were again formed and a few years later they absorbed minor groups. One of them carried on the beliefs and traditions of the Jeffersonian Republicans and called itself the Democratic party. It defended states' rights, leaned chiefly on the South and the agricultural classes, and was therefore inclined to favor free international trade.

The other party first called itself the National Republican and finally the Whig party. It represented many of the views of the vanished Federalists.

The Whig party was unable to win popular support, and at last it went to pieces on the slavery issue. It was supplanted by the present-day Republican party, which was founded in 1854 and won its first election in 1860, when Lincoln was chosen President.

The initial success of the Republicans was due to several factors. In the first place, the Democratic party was split and thus weakened as a result of the slavery issue. The Republican party rounded up the anti-slavery vote, the business vote by advocating a tariff, internal improvements, and a Pacific railroad, the farm vote by favoring free homesteads. The new party was in the saddle, not to be unhorsed until 1884, when Cleveland became the first Democratic President after the Civil War.

In addition to Lincoln, Presidents Johnson, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, Benjamin Harrison, McKinley, Theodore Roosevelt, Taft, Harding, Coolidge, and Hoover have held office under the Republican banner.

The Republican symbol, the elephant, was brought into existence by the famous political cartoonist, Thomas Nast, who in 1870 had depicted the Democratic party as a donkey. In each case, the animals were pictured as a part of Nast's derisive jests about current political happenings, but the donkey and the elephant found favor with the rank and file of the respective parties.

In the Republican Spotlight



THOMAS E. DEWEY. The man who is slated to receive the Republican nomination for President this week at Chicago will be put before the nation's voters as a man who has made an efficient, economical record in the governorship of New York. On international affairs, he has come out in favor of world cooperation with such emphasis that isolationist groups are opposed to him. He is a good speaker, both from the platform and over the radio. How he will meet the Democrats' charge that he could not compare with President Franklin Roosevelt as wartime commander-in-chief remains to be seen. His supporters will probably cite Dewey's general executive ability as being sufficient for the task since the management of the war fronts is really in the hands of professional military men. The Dewey forces will also stress the need for younger men to replace an administration which has grown "old" and "tired." Governor Dewey himself observed his 42nd birthday only last March. A native of Michigan, he first came into national prominence for his crime-busting successes in New York in the 1930's. A lawyer by training, he is married and the father of two children.

JOHN W. BRICKER. The three-time governor of Ohio goes into the convention a poor second to Dewey in the number of delegates lined up in advance. This is through no fault of Bricker because he has been making by all odds the most determined effort to win support. In fact, he is the only Republican contender who has ranged far and wide on a pre-convention campaign. In his many speeches, Governor Bricker has pronounced in favor of world cooperation, a more economical national administration, and a return to greater freedom of private enterprise. He has also indirectly criticized Dewey for not coming out in the open in the contest for the Republican nomination. Bricker first attracted national attention due to his ability to win elections as governor at a time when the Democrats were strong throughout the nation. His supporters point to his good record as governor, and say that it gives ample evidence that he would conduct a smooth-running administration as President. The governor himself believes that the federal government has gone much too far in increasing its powers at the expense of state and local governments. Bricker, who will be 51 years old next September, is a native Ohioan.



EARL WARREN. The governor of California, who will deliver the keynote address at the Republican convention this week, is the leading pre-convention favorite for the vice-presidential nomination. The big drawing card in his favor is his vote-garnering ability in the pivotal state of California. By naming him on the ticket with Dewey, the Republicans would be giving recognition to the Far West. Warren himself is flattered by the attention, but not sure that he wants the nomination. He admits his lack of experience in national affairs, and he may have an eye on the presidential nomination for 1948. By waiting, he can serve out his governorship and generally enlarge his experience. Since he is not a candidate, his views are not too well known. In brief, he believes in carrying on the major New Deal reforms. "I don't want to go back," he says, "to what some people think are the good old days." He believes that the nation should join with other powers to guarantee world peace, using force if necessary to gain that end. Born 53 years ago in California, he made an average record in school, served in the Army in World War I, and has held a number of public offices.



HAROLD E. STASSEN. Despite the fact that former Governor Stassen is scarcely in the running for the Republican nomination, his supporters are putting his name before the convention this week for several reasons. They want to show that he has some strength and thus plant the idea that he really will be in the running in the future—perhaps in 1948. Another consideration is that of attempting to get some of Stassen's views incorporated in the 1944 Republican platform. Chief among these is his conviction in favor of a strong world organization of the nations. Before entering the Navy as a lieutenant commander, he blueprinted the kind of organization he favors in much greater detail than has been supplied by any other presidential contender or by President Roosevelt himself. While Stassen has been on duty somewhere in the Pacific, his campaign has been entirely in the hands of Senator Ball of Minnesota. But Stassen himself recently made it known that, failing to receive the presidential nomination, he will not accept any offer to run for the vice-presidency. Only 37 years old, he can afford to wait another four or eight years to bid for the presidency.



HARRISON E. SPANGLER. As chairman of the Republican National Committee, Mr. Spangler is spending his last days in office. In keeping with long-established custom, he will resign to make way for the Republican presidential nominee to name his own choice. Many Republicans will witness Spangler's departure with some relief. True, the party has made substantial gains in Congress and elsewhere during his tenure. But Spangler sometimes makes statements which react unfavorably on the public and thus embarrass party members. He did not gain his position in the first place due to any undisputed leadership; but rather as a compromise candidate when rival factions in the party became deadlocked over their respective favorites. Before that happened, in December 1942, Mr. Spangler was little known nationally. He had been a longtime wheelhorse of the party in his native Iowa and a faithful campaigner—for others—in local, state, and national elections. He himself has never run for public office. The son of a farmer-politician, he built up a good law practice and also maintains an active interest in two farms that he owns. He is 65 years old.



JOSEPH W. MARTIN, JR. Repeating in the role he played in 1940, Representative Martin of Massachusetts will be permanent chairman of this year's Republican national convention. The selection is a tribute to his perennial popularity and to his ability as a leader. Wendell Willkie recognized this by choosing him to be chairman of the party's national committee, the position in which he was succeeded by Spangler. He is also minority leader in the House of Representatives, and is slated to become speaker whenever the Republicans gain a majority in the House. Despite the many occasions on which he has been in the forefront of legislative controversy, he can count many friends among the Democratic members. Born 59 years ago in Massachusetts, he began his career as a newspaperman in his native North Attleboro, and is still the publisher of the paper there. He has been active in Republican politics for over 30 years and a member of Congress since 1924. In more recent years, he has been one of the chief Republican strategists in national elections, and is given much of the credit for the growing Republican strength in Congress. He is unmarried.



The Story of the Week

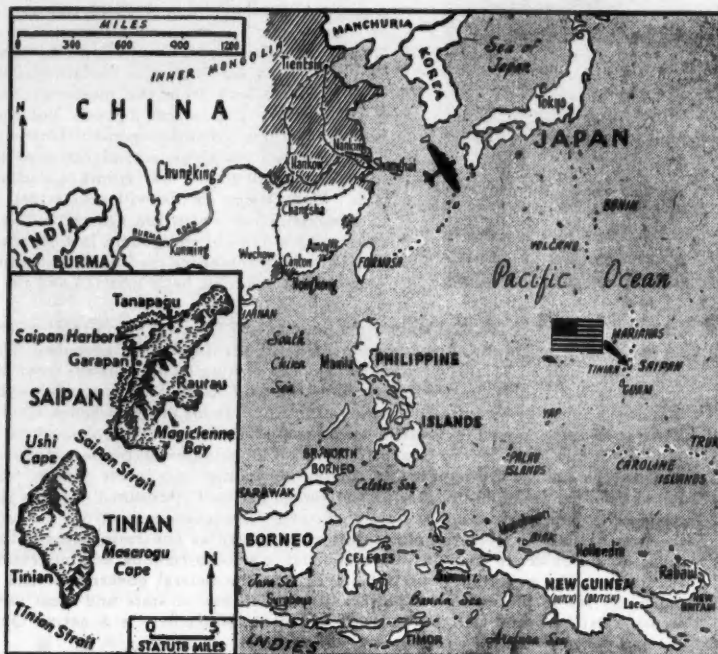
The War Fronts

The Allies won their most important victory in the Battle of Europe since the landings themselves when they succeeded in cutting across the Cherbourg Peninsula, thus trapping an estimated 25,000 to 30,000 Nazi troops and preparing the way for the seizure of the vital port itself.

It has long been recognized that one of the early objectives of Allied strategy in France was the seizure of a port sufficiently large to handle the tremendous flow of men and supplies which must get into France before the major military campaigns can take place. Cherbourg offers such possibilities. Even if the Germans should succeed in wrecking its docks and installations, experience at Salerno and Naples and elsewhere has shown that damage can be repaired in a relatively short time. The big question last week was not whether Cherbourg would fall into our hands, but how quickly. The answer will lie with the resistance which the Nazis put up. They may stage a bitter-end, suicide struggle in order to keep the port out of our hands, or may give up relatively easily.

The Allied armies in Italy continued their advances northward last week. Despite the reinforcements which the Germans had poured into Italy the American and British armies continued their push. Their drive was expected to continue uninterrupted at least until they reached the Nazi defense line which stretches across the Italian peninsula from Pisa through Florence to Rimini.

The Russian offensive against Finland made rapid progress last week as the Red Armies breached Finnish defenses and approached the vital city of Viipuri, second city in Finland. Russia's objectives were seen as twofold: (1) to knock Finland out of the war and thus secure the northern flank, and (2) to halt the shipment of vital war materials, including such metals as copper, from Finland to the



We move closer to the Philippines and to Tokyo by invading the Marianas

Reich. In addition, a knock-out blow at Finland would have widespread political repercussions among Hitler's Balkan satellites. Most military observers regard the northern offensive as merely the prelude to more extensive operations elsewhere along the Russian front, in accordance with strategy mapped out at the Teheran Conference.

While the bombing of Japan by the new B-29's was the most spectacular development in the Asiatic theater (see page 1), other substantial victories have been won by the Allies. The assault against Saipan, in the Marianas Islands, was another step closer to the heart of the Japanese empire. Here our forces encountered stiff opposition, for Saipan is the most heavily fortified of the Marianas group, and our forces had to deal with highly trained armored troops of the Japanese. As we go to press, our forces have hurled back a strong Japanese counter-attack of an estimated 30,000 troops and our beachhead is being extended and secured.

Veterans' Benefits

The "G. I. Bill of Rights," the omnibus veterans' benefit legislation which Congress has considered for almost three months, was approved in its final form by unanimous action of both the House and the Senate. President Roosevelt's signature to the bill will set into motion machinery to provide veterans of this war with education, loans, assistance in finding a job, hospitalization, and unemployment compensation.

Any veteran of 90 days or more service in the armed forces whose education was interfered with by his war service may resume his studies at government expense. The length of the veteran's schooling depends upon the time he spent in service, with the maximum amount of educa-

tion set at four years. The government will pay up to \$500 per year for tuition and fees and \$50 per month for subsistence allowance if there are no dependents, \$75 monthly if the veteran has dependents.

Government-guaranteed loans at no more than 4 per cent interest may be secured in order to buy homes, farms, and small businesses. These loans are repayable in 20 years and the Veterans Administration will absorb interest rates during the first year.

During the first two years after discharge an unemployed veteran may receive a weekly compensation of \$20 for a maximum of 52 weeks. An agency under the direction of Selective Service, the War Manpower Commission, and the Veterans Administration will be set up to help ex-service men and women find jobs. A 500-million-dollar hospital construction program will provide hospitalization facilities for veterans.

President's Plan

The United States has had its first glimpse of the sort of postwar plan for international security which our government may be expected to support. In a brief, rather vague statement to the press, President Roosevelt suggested a plan on which government officials are working, and which would involve three things:

1. "A fully representative organization" of peace-loving countries, whose purpose would be to "maintain peace and security and to assist the creation, through international cooperation, of conditions of stability and well-being necessary for peaceful and friendly relations among nations." This organization or assembly would elect annually:
2. A council, with permanent seats for the four major world powers and additional seats for "a suitable number of other nations." This council "would concern itself with peaceful settlement of international disputes and with the prevention of threats to the peace or breaches of the peace."
3. Finally there would be an international court of justice to deal with international disputes.

This plan, which resembles the League of Nations in its provisions for a council and an assembly, is notable perhaps less for what it provides than for what it specifically leaves out. It shows rather clearly that plans for a superstate, with an international police force, are not likely to be acceptable to the great world powers. Instead, as the President pointed out, "we are seeking effective agreement and arrangement through which the nations would maintain, according to their capacities, adequate forces to meet the needs of preventing war and to have such forces available for joint action when necessary."

Supreme Court Adjourns

The Supreme Court completed its 1943-44 session two weeks ago after handing down several decisions which brought cries of protest from several quarters. Two long-established decisions, one concerning participation in state primary elections and one having to do with the regulation of insurance companies, were reversed.

The decision that Texas had violated the Constitution in denying Negro voters the right to vote in Democratic primaries gave rise to feelings of indignation in many Southern states. As a result, several of these threatened to select presidential



Arrival in Normandy—American tanks and vehicles in France

electors who would vote against the party's candidate unless what amounts to a repudiation of the Court's decision were written into the platform.

Reversing decisions of 75 years' standing, the Court ruled that fire insurance companies constitute a form of interstate commerce and are therefore subject to the provisions of anti-

THE G. I. BILL OF RIGHTS

UNEMPLOYMENT BENEFITS—During the first two years after their discharge, Veterans are allowed \$20 a week unemployment benefits for a period up to 52 weeks.

EDUCATION—\$500 a year tuition, expenses for lab fees and books, \$50 a month. Subsistence allowance (plus \$25 for dependents) for Veterans who were under 25 when they joined the armed forces. Available for from one year up to length of time veteran served since passage of Draft Act.

BUSINESS LOANS—Private loans at 4% interest, with the Government guaranteeing up to 50% of the loan, up to a \$2000 maximum.

JOB PLACEMENT—Special provisions will be made for arranging employment of veterans by the United States Employment Service.

HOSPITALIZATION—Free hospital care provided in Veterans Administration hospitals—with \$500 million authorized for construction of hospital facilities.

These are the major provisions of the "GI Bill of Rights" recently passed by Congress.

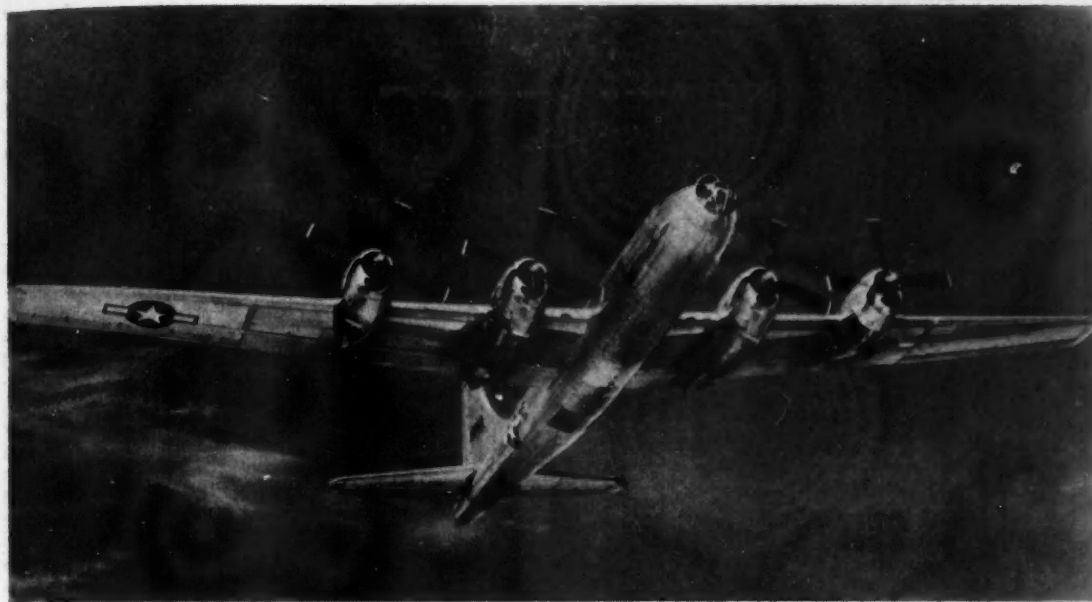
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The mighty B-29, the "Superfortress" has taken to the skies and will speed our victory in the Pacific

trust laws. In denouncing the decisions, businessmen joined with the dissenting justices in proclaiming that insurance companies have developed under state regulation and that there is no important or immediate reason for transferring them to federal control.

Of perhaps greater significance than the reversal is the fact that in this decision a precedent set up by Chief Justice John Marshall in 1834 was broken. Marshall declared that the Court should not hand down decisions involving Constitutional law unless a majority of the justices were in agreement. The fire insurance case was decided by a four to three ruling, with two justices absent.

B-29, The Superfortress

Until the B-29's made their successful raid on Japan, all but a few facts about the new Superfortresses remained cloaked by censorship. But its general size and performance could be imagined from General Henry Arnold's statement of months ago that the Flying Fortresses and the Liberator are the last of the "small" bombers. Up to now these had been the heavyweights of aircraft, and the B-29 was to outstrip them.

Now it is possible to give the substantiating figures. The B-29 has a wing span of more than 141 feet, it is nearly 100 feet long, and it stands to a height of 27 feet. By comparison, the Flying Fortress has a wing spread of 103 feet, a length of 75 feet, and a height of 19 feet. The B-29 weighs

about twice as much as the Flying Fortress.

The range, speed, and ceiling of the Superfortress are restricted information. It is simply said that "it carries the greatest load faster, farther, and higher than any other warplane in existence." Another way of putting it is that the B-29 can reach a speed of 300-plus miles per hour and climb to a ceiling of "well over 30,000 feet."

The B-29's four 2200-horsepower engines turn the largest propellers ever made—each with four blades and with a diameter of 16 feet, 6 inches. A tricycle landing gear rests on six instead of the customary three wheels, in order to withstand the box-car weight of the loaded plane.

The 11-man crew rides in an interior that contains four sleeping bunks, and an upholstered seat for each man. In addition it is crowded with equipment, including 150 electric motors to operate various parts of the plane.

Red Cross Reports

In a special supplement to the annual report, the American Red Cross gave an account of its wartime activities which cover the United States and all combat areas.

The single item which demands the largest number of staff members and the largest sum of money is personal assistance to men and women in the armed forces. Red Cross representatives in combat areas, in arranging communications with the home Red Cross chapter of a service man overseas, provide a link between a fighting

man and his family in time of trouble.

Recreation centers and organized social activities dot the Red Cross' working area. At 260 service centers throughout the world men and women of the armed forces can get food, lodging, and relaxation.

Another all-important Red Cross service is assistance to prisoners of war in the form of parcels of food, clothing, and recreational material. The Red Cross has also organized various activities on the home front which are designed to back up the fighting fronts. Among these are the making of surgical dressings and the maintenance of blood donor centers.

The Three Big Tasks

(Concluded from p. 1)

reads every morning, without pausing to think, of the number shot overnight in occupied countries.

After the last war we erected monuments to the Unknown Soldier as representative of nameless heroes sacrificed in bloody slaughters of that war. And shall we not after this war erect a monument to the common man, as representative of the men, women, and children of the civilian populations who paid the penalty and bore the sufferings for the sins and shortcomings of our western civilization? And should that memorial not take the form of a better social order of society, with higher standards of living, with more social justice and security and of better opportunities for life?

Throughout all the civilized world it is felt today that much of the unrest which culminates in modern war originates in wrong social and economic conditions, and that to combat war and aggression effectively these conditions will have to be dealt with in fundamental reforms. Where we failed 25 years ago we may now hope to succeed after bitter experience, not only of this war but of the postwar social and economic troubles which overtook us in the years between the two wars. And so from the ruins of this war will arise a new monument to man, the common man, which will record the passing of an era—the era of social indifference and the coming of the new age with its higher standard of social responsibility of every citizen born into our society. War will thus become but a stage, a passing stage, for man in his long march to better society and a richer life. So may it be. And so the greatest world war may perhaps further the greatest peace.

Week in Congress

DURING THE WEEK ending June 17, Congress took the following action on important national problems:

Monday, June 12

Senate accepted the Conference Report on the GI Bill of Rights and on three departmental appropriations.

House continued the amending of Price Control Act.

Tuesday, June 13

Senate passed 1945 appropriations for Lend-Lease, Foreign Economic Administration, and UNRRA. Heard postwar foreign policy debate of major political parties by Hatch, Democrat of New Mexico, Bridges, Republican of New Hampshire, Vandenberg, Republican of Michigan, and Connally, Democrat of Texas.

House agreed to the Conference Report on the GI Bill of Rights and continued on OPA amendments.

Wednesday, June 14

Senate not in session.

House passed OPA extension, after adding several more amendments.

Thursday, June 15

Senate passed appropriation for Federal Security Administration and agreed to Conference Reports on two appropriations bills. Named conferees for OPA bill. Passed a resolution congratulating Iceland on becoming a republic.

House passed War Department appropriation without a dissenting vote. Returned two bills to conference and concurred in the resolution congratulating Iceland on becoming a republic.

Friday, June 16

Senate debated the matter of funds for the Fair Employment Practice Committee in connection with the War Agencies appropriation, but delayed the vote.

House debated contract termination and studied Conference Reports of several appropriations.

Saturday, June 17

Senate not in session.

House considered the Second Deficiency Bill and contract termination.

SMILES

"Judge, would you advise a young man to go into political life if he saw an opening?"

"Yes, if he was sure of not getting himself into a hole."

An old judge, known for the speed with which he settled cases, was asked by a friend to explain it.

"I always listen to the plaintiff, and then I make my decision."

"Never to the defendant?"

"Oh, I did at first, but I found out it confused me."

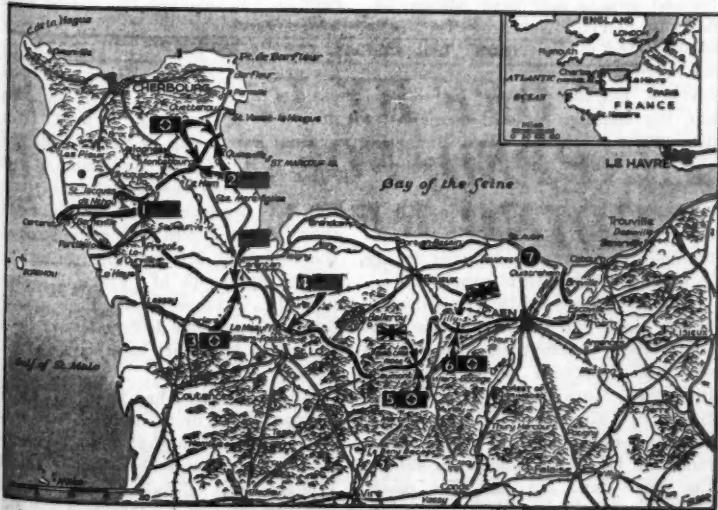
"Why do you insist on keeping a parrot?"

"Because," answered the bachelor, "I like to hear it talk. The parrot is the only creature gifted with the power of speech that is content to repeat just what it hears without trying to make a good story."

A girl who was entertaining three soldiers from New Zealand took them down to the Battery by cab for a little sight-seeing. As the cab turned onto the West Side Highway, one of the soldiers exclaimed, "Look at the docks!" The driver tossed a tolerant smile over his shoulder. "Nah, those are sea gulls, Jack," he said.—*The New Yorker*.

The high-speed salesman had joined the Army, gone into action, been wounded. For several days he lay delirious, but eventually he turned the corner. On the first day of his recovery he was surprised to see all the nurses standing around his bed, offering him money.

"What's this for?" he asked. "Why, for the radios and refrigerators you sold us while you were unconscious," they chorused.



The battle-line in Normandy last week. Numbers point to areas of recent military activity.



Communist headquarters in China are in Yen-an in Shensi province

ADAPTED FROM A MAP IN THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Internal Conflict in China

(Concluded from page 1)

turning the Japanese back and in gaining mastery of the air and the sea in the approaches to the heart of the empire, we have still far to go before we can deal them the fatal military blow. We have as yet come to grips with only a relatively small part of the Japanese army—with only those units which have been stationed in the island outposts. It is generally agreed that Japan, like Germany, will be brought to terms only when her armies are defeated, and that air and sea power will serve as parts of that major operation.

Future Land Operations

It is in the future land operations that the picture of the Far Eastern war is less encouraging. Only the Chinese, fighting on the Asiatic mainland, have been in a position to engage large segments of the Japanese armed might. And for several weeks now, Japan has been engaged in an offensive in China the obvious purpose of which is so to reduce Chinese armed might as to make it ineffective. Japan's object is to drive a wedge from central to southern China so that we will be unable to join forces with the Chinese when we succeed in storming and seizing one or more ports along the coast of China. This is the strategy which has been publicly set forth by Admiral Nimitz and other American military leaders.

In 10 days, China will be entering her eighth year of war against Japan. That fact alone would make the outlook desperate enough because during that period China has lost most of her productive areas, has been obliged to fight with inadequate equipment, and has received little aid from the outside. She has yielded ground time after time, but has fought on valiantly, never giving the Japanese the decisive victory they need. Now, once more, the Japanese are striking out desperately

to win that decisive victory before the power of the United States has time to make itself felt by landing in China and joining hands with the Chinese.

Perhaps even more serious than this internal weakness in military supplies is the fact that China herself lacks the degree of national unity which is essential to the waging of total war. The internal conflicts within China have been so severe that they have not infrequently bordered on civil war.

The great cleavage within China is between the forces controlled by the government of Chiang Kai-shek, located at Chungking, and the Communists, sometimes called partisans. While both groups are fighting the Japanese, their participation in a common struggle is the only matter in which they cooperate. For nearly 10 years, prior to the opening of the war in 1937, the Kuomintang, or Nationalist, government of Chiang Kai-shek had engaged in bitter civil war with the Communists. It was only the threat of the Japanese invasion of China which compelled the two groups

to come to terms and form a united front.

The Chinese Communists differ markedly from the Communists of Russia or other countries. They are less extreme in their policies than the Communists of other countries and have few connections with the Communists of Russia. In fact, what military supplies Russia has sent to China have gone to the Nationalist government, and not to the Communists.

The Communists or partisans are in control of large sections of China. Most of the area they control is behind the Japanese lines, in North China. It is said that from three-fifths to two-thirds of the territory conquered by China is actually in the hands of the Communists most of the time. Between 50 to 60 million Chinese are located in the regions they control.

The partisans have set up city and county governments. They have trained armies and have become experts in guerrilla warfare. They have inaugurated many reforms, including the setting up of effective educational systems, tax and interest reductions, and the election of local councils by democratic methods. Most impartial observers believe that the Communist movement is far more reformatory than revolutionary. Raymond Gram Swing has described the Chinese Communists as "agrarian radicals trying to establish democratic practices."

Whatever their political or economic views, there can be no question that the Chinese Communists have offered effective resistance to the Japanese invaders. More than half of Japan's troops in China are held down in the regions controlled by the Communists, but they have been unable to subdue the opposition. In fact, the movement has grown steadily since the invasion of 1937.

The agreement reached between the

Communists and the government of Chiang Kai-shek in 1937 provided that the national government was to furnish the Communist armies with funds and with equipment the same as the regular Chinese army. The Communists charge that this agreement has been broken by the government; that no supplies have been sent them since 1939 and no funds since 1940. They contend, further, that even medical supplies have not been forthcoming.

The root of the dispute between the Nationalist government and the Communists springs largely from the fact that China has a one-party government, the Kuomintang, or Nationalist. The Communists, being the only other party of any strength, insists upon representation in the government. In the regions which they control and in which they have established local governments, they have accepted to elected bodies persons who are not members of the party. They insist that the same procedure should be used by the Kuomintang.

Chungking's opposition to closer relations with the Communists comes mainly from the fear that they will extend their influence to the point where they will displace the Kuomintang as the dominant political group and control the government themselves.

It has been difficult to obtain detailed and reliable information about conditions in the sections of China controlled by the Communists. Only recently has Chiang Kai-shek permitted foreign correspondents to visit these sections of North China. Their re-



Mao Tse-tung—one of the Chinese Communist leaders

ports are only now coming through and remain inconclusive and fragmentary.

The dispute between the Nationalist government and the Communists has become more than an internal political conflict. It involves the future military strategy of the United Nations. If the dispute cannot be settled satisfactorily; if, in fact, it becomes more serious and leads to civil war, the problem of opening a land front against Japan will be greatly intensified. At the Cairo conference of last winter, the seriousness of this situation was recognized. It was reported that "the conferees took cognizance of the fact that internal differences between the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and the Chinese Communist armies must be overcome before China could be used as a primary base for an attack against Japan."

Although there has been no official announcement on the subject, it is reasonable to assume that one of the subjects to be discussed by Vice President Wallace with officials of the Chinese government will be this internal dispute, which hangs like an ominous cloud over the Far Eastern horizon.



Chiang Kai-shek

APR

Organization and Procedure at Chicago

AS Republican leaders convene at Chicago today to begin the process of nominating candidates for president and vice president and to draw up a platform for the campaign, they will follow a pattern of organization and procedure which has been laid down by years of tradition and custom. Moreover, not only will this year's Republican national convention be similar to those of former years, but it will resemble in most respects the Democratic convention which opens July 19. Thus a description of how conventions operate is roughly applicable to either party.

In the winter preceding a presidential election the national committee of each party meets and selects the time and place for the convention. To be selected as the scene for a convention, a city must be large enough to offer adequate hotel accommodations and auditorium space, and it must be easily reached by railroad. Frequently the larger cities bid for the convention because of the volume of business it brings to merchants, offering sums running into six figures as an inducement. Chicago this year will be the scene of both conferences. It already holds the record, having played host to 17 of the major party meetings since 1856; Philadelphia and St. Louis tie for second place, with five each.

It is expected that approximately 6,000 people will be in Chicago for the convention this week, and a like number will probably descend on the city for the July convention. These include delegates, alternates, relatives, newspapermen, photographers, and radio men. The number of delegates varies slightly between the two parties. The Democrats apportion the number by giving each state twice as many delegates as it has senators and representatives, i.e., four delegates-at-large (from anywhere in the state) plus two delegates from each congressional district.

Delegate Quotas

According to a new rule adopted only last year, two additional delegates-at-large, each with a full vote, are allotted those states which cast their electoral votes for the Democratic nominees for president and vice president in the last election. In practice, the states often send double their quota of delegates-at-large, with only half a vote for each one. The larger U. S. territories and possessions are also granted the right to send a specified number of delegates, so that the total number of delegates-votes in the Democratic convention this year will be 1,176. Each state also sends an alternate for each delegate, to serve if the delegate is absent.

The Republican party allocates delegates to the states more nearly in proportion to party strength. Thus each state is granted two delegates-at-large for each senator and representative-at-large (representatives elected from the entire state rather than from specific districts), plus three additional delegates-at-large if the state supported the party at the last presidential or senatorial election. Delegates are granted also for each congressional district: if the district cast at least 1,000 votes for the Republican nominee in the last general election it gets one delegate; if the vote exceeded 10,000, it gets two delegates. So, for example, Mississippi will have 20 delegates at the Democratic convention but only six at the Republi-



What will the harvest be?

SEIHEL IN RICHMOND TIMES-DISPATCH

can meeting. The Republican convention this year will seat 1,059 delegates.

The convention delegates have been selected by their respective states in several different ways: some by primary elections, some by state conventions, and some by state committees. Some of them have been "instructed" to support certain candidates and to work for the adoption of certain policies in the platform.

The conventions as a rule are very colorful affairs, held in auditoriums decorated with bunting and flags, and pictures of the candidates and famous party statesmen. The hundreds of delegates and alternates on the floor sit in groups and hold large placards and signs denoting their states.

The convention is called to order on the first day by the chairman of the party national committee, who in turn names a temporary chairman and other temporary officers who have been selected by the national committee. Unless there is a fight between rival groups, the delegates immediately elect these officials.

The temporary chairman, known as the "keynoter" of the convention, then is led to the platform and makes the first of the two principal addresses of the convention—the keynote address. He attacks the record of the other party in the strongest permissible language; he praises his own party in the most glowing terms; he calls for party harmony and unity.

At the close of the first day's session, the temporary chairman names the four main convention committees, with one member on each committee from each state and territory. The second day's session is devoted largely to the reports of these committees.

The Committee on Permanent Organization nominates a permanent chairman and a slate of other permanent officials for the convention. After these are approved by the delegates, the permanent chairman makes the second main address of the conclave,

usually a lengthy speech outlining the issues of the campaign.

Then the Committee on Rules presents the rules to be followed (usually those of the last preceding convention) and outlines the order of business for the rest of the convention. The Committee on Credentials recommends what delegates shall be officially recognized and seated, and decides between any rival sets of delegates who may contest the right to represent a certain state or district.

The Committee on Resolutions (commonly known as the Platform Committee) usually is not able to make its report until the third day of the conference. Its job is to draft a platform to enunciate the principles and objectives of the party for the presidential campaign and the following four years. This committee may

hold public hearings to determine public attitudes on various points. Often there are bitter fights within this committee over controversial planks, but finally a compromise statement of the party's position is reached which is roughly acceptable to all groups. Of course, much of the spadework on this platform has been done by party leaders months before the convention.

Nominating Candidates

The chief business remaining is the nomination of the presidential and vice presidential candidates. The roll is called alphabetically by states, and the delegates of any state have the right to nominate or second any candidate they wish, with long eulogistic speeches.

After all candidates have been named, the balloting begins, also alphabetically by states. The parties differ somewhat in the manner of this voting: the Democrats since 1860 have followed the "unit rule" by which the vote of the majority of the delegates from any given state may determine the vote of the entire delegation of that state if the state convention has so provided previously. (Most states in fact do not require this rule.) The Republicans do not have the unit rule, and each vote is counted separately.

From 1832 to 1936 the Democrats observed the "two-thirds rule," which required two-thirds of the votes cast to nominate either president or vice president. But this method sometimes caused excessively long balloting, as in 1924 when it was necessary to ballot 103 times to nominate John W. Davis. Thus the Democrats now require only a simple majority of the entire number of delegates, as do the Republicans. However, there has been much talk, especially among anti-fourth term Democrats, of reinstating the two-thirds rule this year.

The vice-presidential candidate is nominated in the same fashion. This virtually concludes the business of the convention, except for the official notification of the candidates by two special committees of the convention. The candidate then makes a "speech of acceptance." Traditionally this has been done at some place other than the convention city, but occasionally the candidate for president delivers his acceptance speech at the convention.

Questions from the News

1. How many delegates will there be to the Republican National Convention? How are the delegates chosen?
2. In what way are the opponents of Governor Dewey trying to block his nomination?
3. In what respect will the influence of Wendell Willkie be exercised at the convention?
4. What are the three important tasks confronting the convention?
5. Why are many members of the party anxious to nominate Governor Warren of California as the vice-presidential candidate?
6. Tell something about the procedure followed at a political convention.
7. Where are the strongholds of the Chinese Communists?
8. What has been their principal contribution to the war against Japan?
9. What are the principal issues between them and the government of Chiang Kai-shek?
10. Why is the dispute between the Chinese Communists and the Nationalist government more than an internal political matter?
11. Tell something about the reforms inaugurated by the Communists in the regions under their control.
12. Why are the Allies so anxious to obtain the port of Cherbourg?

13. What are Russia's objectives in her present drive against Finland?
14. In the opinion of General Smuts, what are the three big tasks confronting the United Nations?

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Points of View

What Authors and Editors Are Saying

(The ideas expressed in these columns should not be taken to represent the views of the editors of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER.)

Politicians

Americans' low regard for "politicians" was recently revealed in a report of the National Opinion Research Center at the University of Denver, which found: that seven out of ten American voters would not like to see a son of theirs go into politics as a life work; and that nearly half of us think it is "practically impossible for a man to remain honest if he enters upon a political career."

Commenting on these findings, the *New York Times* editorialized:

The existence of this attitude toward politics is a cause for concern. No democracy in which it prevails can be a healthy one. One of the factors that undermined the Third French Republic was a corrosive cynicism on the part of the French people regarding their political leaders. It need hardly be pointed out that a widespread belief that politics is a dirty business and politicians dishonest must in itself tend to keep the higher type of men out of politics, and so help to make politics as bad as it is thought to be. . . . [This] means that voters believe that the men they themselves choose for the responsibilities of public office are not to be trusted. . . .

It is clear that if we are to place our democracy upon a healthy basis we must remove the widespread distrust of politics and politicians as such. In too many nations of the world adventurers have successfully made use of this very distrust to destroy democracy itself. But before we can remove the distrust we must rid ourselves of the actualities that seem to justify it.

Fiorello H. LaGuardia took note of the Denver report by saying:

The attitude is easily understandable and is surely justified, because at least three out of ten politicians are really what these voters think they are.

Perhaps we have used too harsh terms in describing the professional politician.

Perhaps someone should coin a new word to describe a politician who is able, competent, honest, and qualified. That would be much easier than to try to reform some of the people now known as politicians in our country. Something should be done to identify and classify the two kinds of politicians and to get a new name for either one or the other. . . .

Arabian Oil

Rights to valuable oil reserves in eastern Arabia are owned by two American companies. Before these reserves can be effectively exploited a pipeline will need to be constructed to connect them with the Mediterranean. Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes has been emphatic in his recommendation that the United States government should construct the pipeline and in other ways help make Arabian oil available for use. As yet, no official statement of our government's interest in the project has been issued. But the following explanation is suggested by André Visson in *The Reader's Digest*:

The broader strategy is to supply the European markets with Arabian oil so cheaply that it will no longer pay to export oil from the Western Hemisphere across the Atlantic. Western Hemisphere reserves have supplied two wars and the drain has been appalling. It is hard to imagine a more effective way of conserving the oil fields of the Americas henceforth than to make it unprofitable to send any of their oil abroad.

British long-range policy has been to conserve the oil of the Empire and use oil from other sources—in practice, American oil. This policy has been frankly stated often in the House of Commons. . . . In peacetime, Europe was using oil from the Americas at the rate of 530,000 barrels a day. . . .

Thus the proposal to build a competing pipeline across the Arabian peninsula is in its broad aspects a counter-move against the British policy of conserving their own oil and using that of the Western Hemisphere.

Here are the seeds of bitter controversy. How will the British react to our pipeline project? Their attitude is not



Mexican village

clear as yet. Apparently the British government itself is divided, Churchill and some adherents being willing to further American participation in the Middle Eastern oil fields, feeling that it will insure American help in maintaining stability in the region.

Refugees in Mexico

Historians have pointed out that the greatness achieved by England and the United States has resulted, in part, from the traditional policy of the Anglo-Saxon democracies in welcoming political refugees from other countries. Refugees from tyranny are characteristically men and women of strong character and superior talent; and for this reason English and American life has been greatly enriched by their coming.

Today Mexico appears to be an outstanding beneficiary of refugee immigration. The situation there is described by Ann Cutler in *Travel*:

Mexico is today the number one Promised Land to thousands of European refugees. To those fleeing from the horrors of Fascism our sister republic has opened wide her doors, fulfilling promises with generosity and magnanimity.

Although refugees represented here

have come virtually from every country in the world, by far the most important group of émigrés is from Spain. And there is no doubt that it is these refugees, speaking the same language and sharing many of the traditions and customs of the Mexican people, who are most cordially welcomed.

Government officials estimate that in the past four years at least twenty thousand Spanish refugees fleeing from Franco's brutality have found peace and happiness in Mexico. In return for the sanctuary they have been granted these refugees, representing some of the best brains and talents of Spain, are making a real contribution to the cultural, scientific, industrial, and agricultural life of Mexico. . . .

As a result of this farsighted policy these refugees, bringing with them special talents and important crafts, are playing a vital part in the industrial boom that is sweeping Mexico. New industries have been developed and flourishing businesses built up that run annually into millions of pesos. . . .

Mexico is particularly proud of the cultural achievements of many of the émigrés. College professors, scientists, publishers, journalists, writers, poets and artists are among those who found Fascist Spain intolerable. Today many of them are teaching at the University of Mexico, others have started publishing firms and established new schools, and still others are producing books, periodicals, and newspapers. . . .

History shows that refugees have always brought gifts—new cultures, arts, crafts, and talents. The open door policy has been synonymous with prosperity for many countries. Eager to take her place among the powerful Latin American countries, Mexico is already finding that her generosity is paying dividends.

Combined Operations in Normandy

The close coordination of all branches of the armed services in military operations aimed at a specific objective is called "the great development of the present struggle" by the *New York Herald-Tribune* in an editorial which cites the Normandy invasion as a convincing example of its thesis:

The ground soldier may say, with some justice, that all the bombs dropped on Germany in the last four years have not shaken the Nazi tyranny as deeply as have the last eight days of hand-to-hand fighting on the soil of France. The airman can reply that without the long preliminary "softening up," without the massive air cover of D-Day, without the quick tactical support from the air and the intense strategic bombing which has hampered every German effort to bring up reserves, the beaches could never have been taken, much less held. And even the seaman can add that without the blasting fire of naval artillery the infantry divisions might never have fought their way beyond the coastal wall. But each—if he had himself participated in the giant operation—would probably make his point with a sober humility and an understanding of the other's contribution not always encountered among theorists.

The Normandy landing represents the "combined operation" or the "task force" idea in its most massive

and most convincing form. While the reports have tended to throw the desperate heroism of the infantry and airborne divisions into the highest relief, it is impossible to read the story without seeing the role of



On the beachhead

air power in its true proportions. The task was hard enough as it was; without air power, both on the scene and through the long preparatory months and years, it would clearly have been impossible. German aviation was remarkable by its absence; here at last was the concrete reward won by the men who had died long before in the Lancasters over Berlin or the Fortresses over Schweinfurt or Brunswick or in a hundred other air battles. . . .

It would be easy to continue the demonstration. Air power has bril-

liantly justified itself; but so has naval gun power and so has the ground army—each, however, only in conjunction with the others. Some air officers still believe that the war might have been won by the total concentration of all energies upon the air alone. The argument can never be disproved, since the experiment has not been made; but the whole weight of experience in the present war lies heavily against it. The great successes have all been won, not by independent arms, not on the ground or on the sea or in the air alone, but by the judicious combination of every available element upon whatever specific task presented itself. The greatest, most intricate combination of all has been adopted for the greatest single task the Western Allies have attempted. If one thing seems clear about future military policy and organization, it seems to be that the unity of arms and services achieved under the grim pressure of the battlefield must be preserved in the permanent peacetime structure of our military establishments. The task force has been the great development of the present struggle. Whatever organizational divisions may be adopted, the permanent system must be built around the task-force idea; it must be integrated in spirit and outlook, however the departments and bureaus may be distributed.

Mr. Wallace's Trip

No official statement has yet been issued on the purpose of Vice President Henry Wallace's trip to China, but there has been considerable speculation on this point. Most comment suggests that Mr. Wallace went to discuss ways and means of increasing Allied aid to China. Disputing this view, *Newsweek* states that the vice president's principal purpose is to "discuss China's postwar agricultural development and perhaps divert Chungking from its great ambition for vast industrial expansion." *The Christian Century*, saying that *Newsweek's* interpretation is probably correct, voices its objections vigorously. Contending that the trend toward industrialization is inevitable, it argues:

Of course the highly developed industrial nations of the west would like to see the hitherto undeveloped agricultural countries and colonial areas stay that way. But it is not going to happen. Not all the vice-presidential oratory that can be turned loose in Chungking can make it happen. Just as rapidly as possible after this war, China will industrialize. India will industrialize. Indonesia will industrialize. Mexico and much of the rest of Latin America are already industrializing. Eventually even Africa will industrialize. That may present a discouraging prospect for American and British capitalism, already in desperate need of expanding markets. But no wishful thinking will change the facts. If it was to stop China's industrializing that Henry Wallace was sent to Chungking, then he is on a wild goose chase.

